/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he

166
[574]
425
[623]

1. Lougan; a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [484] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiés.

369 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village?
241 His family will come to maintain it each year. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- [454] ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 The period of the maximum development of Keur-
621 Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

/375 cont./

369 Diakhaté, for example).

621 Sometimes the discord between religious heads be-
[798] longing to different sects provoked the separation in fact of the two opposite camps (Keur-Mamour).

Up to here the presence of the city acted only indirectly in stimulating /376/ the swelling or the splitting up of the village and the temporary or definitive emigration of some elements. It may also have more direct effects on the agglomerations.

369 During the last three decades, through the establish-
[498] ment of the great repair workshops /ateliers de réparation/ of the Dakar-Niger, Thiès has been in the process of becoming
[712] an industrial city; in a parallel way the military bases are becoming larger at the expense of the neighboring rural territories.

369 Even before this last war, the None village of Tiali,
423 located one kilometer from the city, was the first to be de-
[712] prived of about a third of its land by the establishment of the camp of military aviation. In 1947 plans to extend this same base brought about the complete evacuation of Thiès-none which was established south of the railroad, in the vicinity of Sapko. Almost all of these fields were relinquished to the military authorities. Finally, in 1953, execution of the plan for the urbanization of the city obliged the inhabitants of Wango to rebuild their huts in the quarter of Greater Thiès. Part of these lands have been relinquished to the municipality.

369 The land shrinks, the population grows; in order to subsist, a part of the rural population is obliged to go to work in the city.

[361] But before studying this question of the changing of the rural worker into an urban worker, we shall see whether the presence of the city has an influence on the plan of the village and especially on the settlement pattern.

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salient aspects of the present situation; we shall then turn to some monographic examples. Thus the orientation of our investigations will summarily appear. 369* [121]

A. -- The changes in the organization and the family values form a whole. The correlations that appear between the facts that we have retained for illustration will suffice to indicate it.

We have noted that in town, in most cases, there is topographic dispersion of the ethnic groups and the more restricted kinship groups. It must in no way be concluded that there is a general rupture of the kinship structures; all the ties are not cut. Only the facts of neighborhood and kinship do not reinforce each other any more, in accordance with the typical process of traditional situations. A first examination of the variations in numerical importance of groups of relatives living together will permit one to define the present tendencies. We shall see that the instituting of a new situation where the household /maisonnée/ (1) 621 369* [592] [594]

1. Cf. below for the definition of this idea.

tends to coincide with the restricted family /famille restreinte/ has progressed unequally, depending on the social categories (2).

2. See above (I, B, 4) the brief information given on the socio-occupational categories.

We have said why, especially where marriage is concerned, the considerations of the family structure proper cannot be separated from the problems posed by ethnic affiliation. The multiplication of interethnic marriages is a symptom of important social changes. It must likewise be noted that, the less numerically important an ethnic group is in the town, the more the simple ethnic relationship tends to play the role of ties of closer relationship. [593]

The structure of the restricted family itself is subject to variations. Here in particular the question of polygamy poses 369* 595

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2. And much less, as we have seen, with regard to the facts of "familial parasitism."

categories that on the whole have the same way of life. The distinction which has imposed itself between two groups of categories corresponds to this last fact. The boundary, however, is unequally clear, depending on the phenomena considered. One finds the problem of cultural persistences cutting across the changes of structure and way of life in the course of consolidation.

3. The at least partial entry into the western "technical milieu" appears to be a factor of transformation much less important than schooling. The majority of the specialized workers are still in the most traditionalist group, with only the master workmen approaching, in certain forms of their average behavior, an intermediate position. The level of schooling itself, however, is still only weakly decisive, except in the category of members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. The relation between level of studies and the way of life, even though it tends to assert itself, is not direct in every case. [182]

III

The group of relatives no longer coincides with the local unit. Neither the quarter, the sector, the block, nor in certain cases the "compound" are ethnically homogeneous any longer. In this case, what is the social role of the neighborhood? Under what conditions does it create relationships of a new type which are to be integrated into the new urban "pattern"? The groups of friends were formed essentially in the framework of the age class (3) as a consequence of the ethnic group (and often of the group of relatives in the broad sense), 369x 621 571 [563]

3. See, for example, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit.

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/34 cont./
group of relatives in the broad sense). What is the influence of the neighborhood factor, among other new factors, on their constitution now? Such are the principal questions for which we shall give the first, very brief elements of an answer.

A. -- The neighborhood unit does not constitute a structured grouping, as in the village quarters. The decrease of mobility and of heterogeneity condition the creation of a common milieu of life, in the framework of the quarter as in that of the block. But, particularly in Médina, the quarters represent only an artificial segmentation and have no clearly /35/ marked centers (of commerce, of leisure, etc.). The weakness of the authority and prestige of the quarter heads is another aspect of this fact. As for the smaller elements, groups of blocks, blocks, compounds, their transformation into neighborhood communities based on a minimum of permanence of their components has advanced unevenly. The study of a certain number of blocks has permitted us to distinguish several types. In the first, almost all the people know one another (1), they often visit one another,

1. It is very easy there to find a person whose exact address is not known.

help one another, and on occasion have common leisure-time activities. In the opposite type, there is very little personal contact and mutual aid, and one hardly knows the names of the neighbors, even the immediate ones. An intermediate type is the one where the neighborhood relationships are reduced to very small circles, the relationships dispersed throughout the town, however, retaining more importance. It seems that this is the most frequent case. We shall briefly describe a block of this type.

It is often difficult to pick out from the complex network of relationships between the inhabitants of a block those which are based purely on neighborhood. In many cases, the fact of the neighborhood is eclipsed, as a factor of explanation, by

/35 cont./

kinship, kinship by marriage, membership in the same ethnic group, the same religious persuasion, the same occupation; certain other facts are ambivalent, for example, membership in the same association. In the study that we have made of a certain number of blocks of Médina, we have tried to isolate the neighborhood factor at different levels of participation in common activities. We essentially retained: reciprocal visits, conversation groups, mutual aid (loans, etc.), relationships between women, the play groups of children. The relationships of simple politeness are not retained. We considered successively the relationships inside the compound -- when it is not inhabited by a single family -- and the relationships within the block. In the last case, a somewhat arbitrary limit is posed: the street is not a border, but a zone of assembly. It has not yet been possible to study completely the social role of the latter.

In the block that we shall take as an example, 12 out of 14 compounds were studied; the inhabitants of the other two compounds were on a trip or refused to lend themselves to the investigation. The block as a whole is very heterogeneous ethnically, but, however, with a clear dominance of Wolof-Lebou (2).

2. Six family heads who were manifestly Lebou persisted in calling themselves Wolof. Cf. above.

It contains 39 family groups (representing 199 persons) and 11 isolated bachelors, tenants of some of the preceding families. Five of these bachelors only live /36/ in Dakar seasonally, but in principle always in the same place. The distribution of the family heads by ethnic groups is as follows: 28 Wolof, 4 Lebou, 5 Toucouleur, 1 Sarakolé, 1 Socé. Among the isolated bachelors, one has: 5 Wolof, 2 Toucouleur, 2 Socé, 1 Bambara, 1 Soussou.

1. The study of the relationships within the compounds shows a certain variety of situations.[1] These compounds are

[1] [see chart, pp. 56-57.- Analyst]

/36 cont./

divided into several types by their composition: 369x 621 571

-- Compounds composed of a single family group: extended kinship group based on the nephew-uterine uncle relationship (B), restricted family (E);

-- Compounds composed of restricted family groups, but having between them ties of distant collateral kinship (J);

--Compounds composed of restricted or extended family groups tied only by the ethnic relationship (A and N);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families from different ethnic groups (F, G);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, all of the same ethnic group (L);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, and ethnically varied (C, D, K, M).

The compounds of the first two types will not detain us; family solidarity plays a major role there. In the others, the situation is extremely variable. Frequent relationships exist everywhere on the level of the children (play groups), less frequently on the level of women, still less frequently on the level of men. Let us consider essentially the relationships which are not sustained by the ethnic community.

a) The bachelors, except when they are of the same ethnic group as some of the families of the compound (1 case, in compound D), participate little in the life of the compound; most eat outside and only spend the night at home. Mutual aid does little for them; most said that they had recourse, in case of sickness, to the aid of friends -- almost always of the same ethnic group -- on the outside. In one single case (compound K), the bachelors -- of the same ethnic group, moreover -- form a group eating together, going out together, etc.; the cooking is done for them by an old woman -- also of the same ethnic group -- a widow who lives with her children. [589]

b) Within the compound the ethnic disparity among the families does not exclude some minimal forms of mutual aid (loans of utensils, small purchases, care of children, etc.) [563]

/36 cont./
There is one single case of a ménage having practically no relations with the rest of the compound, that of a Sarakolé family (compound F). 369* 621● 571 563

/37/ c) The extreme cases of mutual aid, on the contrary, are only noticed among families that are related or at least of the same ethnic group. Thus, in the compounds I, N, D, one finds an unemployed man, married and father of a family, temporarily taken care of by his cousins (compound I) or by his neighbors who are related to him only in the broadest possible sense of the term (compounds D and N).

d) The play community of the children is encountered everywhere within the compounds, the ethnic differences not at all intervening. This and other elements, such as the life in the courtyards, the daily encounters at the water places, cause the women ultimately to have many more personal contacts than the men. The only case of a woman living relatively isolated is that of the Sarakolé woman already mentioned. [857]

2. The picture is a little different when one passes to the larger framework of the block. It is moreover divided longitudinally, the relations clearly being more frequent among the compounds which face on the same street. It is necessary, however, to add the shadings.

a) The play groups of the children are still larger, and neither the ethnic group nor other differential elements seem to play a role in their formation, but only proximity and individual affinities. [857]

b) As far as the women are concerned, the contacts that we noted above, conversations at the water place, etc., concern practically the whole block. On the other hand, visits and possible mutual aid occur almost exclusively among relatives, relatives by marriage, and women of the same ethnic group.

c) We have examined, for the men, the composition of groups of friends. In most cases, the majority of friends were dispersed throughout the town, these friends being either of the same ethnic group, of the same work group, or members of the same association -- these factors can all be combined, or [572]

/37 cont./

combined two by two. Out of 32 male heads of families, eight had no friends in the neighborhood (block and its immediate surroundings -- the relatives obviously being excluded). Among the 24 others, one counted 15 whose friends in the neighborhood were at the same time all members of the same ethnic group; for five others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same syndicate;[1] for two others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same religious association. Only the two heads of Lebou families, the ones settled in the block the longest and enjoying a certain prestige, had many friends in the neighborhood; the majority of the latter did not belong to the Lebou group and were not members of a like structured group. The factor of neighborhood, properly speaking, seemed, for our people as a whole, to account for only the most superficial type of relations. The common religious persuasion does not /38/ play an essential role; its limits rarely coincide with the limits of groups of friends. The religious associations, however, are practically the only ones which rest, in a certain number of cases, on a local basis. The importance of occupational ties (in the broad sense, including syndical activity) and, above all, that of ethnic ties are of primary importance.

B. -- In this domain, however, differences in behavior between the socio-occupational categories are seen to appear, and it is important to note them in order to complete the preceding data. One sees some distinctions delineated which, as a whole, go in the same direction as those encountered in the second part of this work. In our population investigated by questionnaires, one finds: 13% of those queried who have less than 10% of their connections belonging to the same ethnic group as themselves; 29% who have less than 30%; 57% who have less than 50%; 11% who have 100%. The following table indicates the distribution by socio-occupational categories:

[1] [i.e., trade union.--Analyst]

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Socio-occupational Category	Percentage of connections belonging to the same ethnic group			
	Less than 10%	Less than 30%	Less than 50%	100%
Farmers, fishermen	11%	26%	50%	7%
Laborers, domestics	7%	19%	41%	21%
Workers and artisans	13%	33%	64%	10%
Subordinate employees and functionaries	14%	33%	60%	11%
Superior employees and functionaries	17%	34%	61%	7%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	26%	40%	72%	6%
Merchants, transporters, etc.,	6%	17%	41%	17%

We thus find a first group where the role played by ethnic membership in the formation of the group of friends is more important than it is on the average: the laborers and domestics, the merchants and transporters. The opposite situation is found among the superior functionaries and employees and even more accentuated, among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions. The farmers are to be added to this group, however; most of them are Lebou, and these figures account well on the one hand for the loss of their particularism before the Wolof thrust, and on the other hand for the more /39/important role played among them by the factors of neighborhood. An average group is constituted by: the subordinate functionaries and employees, and, much more clearly than in the other domains considered, the workers and artisans.

Some remarks are necessary. The factor of ethnic regrouping retains its importance in all the categories, although unequally.

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unequally. The scrutiny of the data concerning the neighborhood factor furnished by this same investigation is not finished; the first results seem to confirm those obtained in our monographic investigations: it in itself only plays a reduced role, only reinforcing the ties of some other origin. On the contrary, memberships in the same occupational milieu, in the same association, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. (1), are important [572]

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1. The study of the role of associations is reserved for another work.

factors in the formation of groups of friends. Finally, let us add that the average behaviors of ethnic groups are extremely variable. Their distribution, however, does not coincide exactly with the one that we have indicated in the domain of interethnic marriages. Only groups among whom the importance of the ethnic factor is clearly greater than the average, the Moors, the Peul, the Toucouleur, the Sarakolé; on the other hand it is slightly less among the Wolof and the Bambara, average among the Sérère, the Diola, the Soussou, the Cape Verdeans. The partial divergences between these two orders of data (2) pose in themselves a problem which will be the

2. Cf. II, E, 4.

subject of subsequent investigations.

We have studied essentially the permanent population of the town, moreover unequally stabilized. It remains to complete these data by the examination of the problems posed by the seasonal population, and, more generally, by the population without fixed residence. It is in this minority that one can really speak of facts of detribalization, in the sense of pure deterioration of the former social frameworks. On the contrary, we [182]

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have seen that in the permanent population the kinship structures and ethnic membership (3) played a considerable

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> 3. It would also be necessary to examine the role played by the associations formed on an ethnic or regional basis.

role. Certainly, a new equilibrium has not been achieved everywhere, and we have noted that the kinship structures were not always adapted to the conditions of urban life. But one is far from dealing with an amorphous mass. Where one can speak /40/ of detribalization, among the elites of a new type, it is not in a purely negative sense. The crisis phase of traditional institutions has not completely passed. But the phase of reconstruction of institutions has begun; some average behavior which implies a certain equilibrium in new frameworks can already be disclosed. /Figs. 1-4 appear here./

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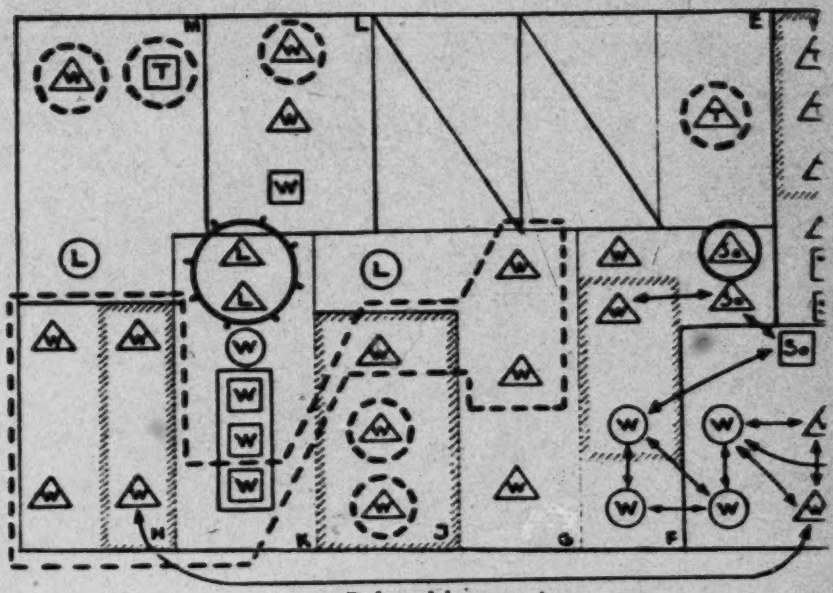
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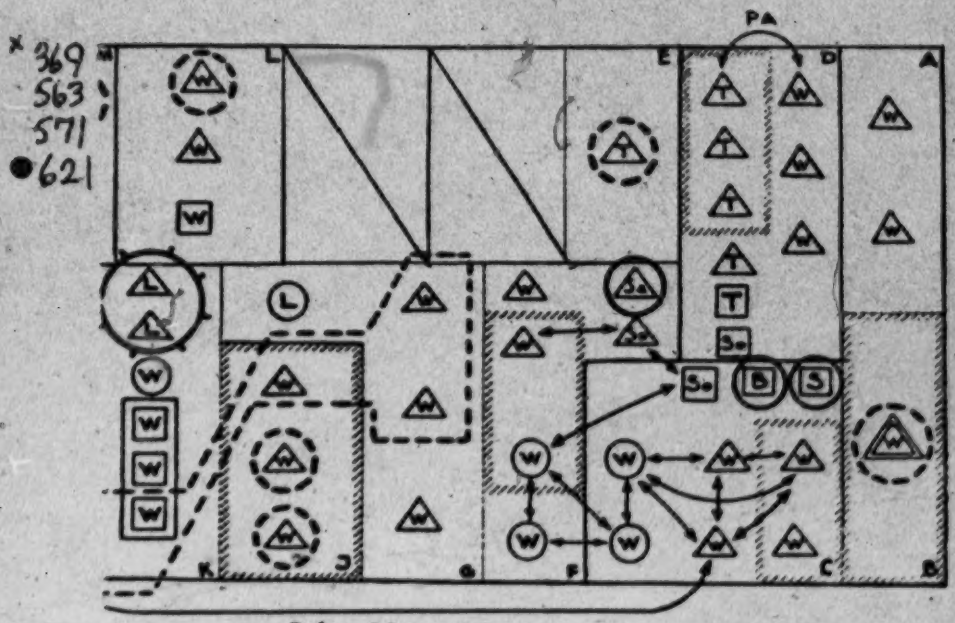

Fig. 4.
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